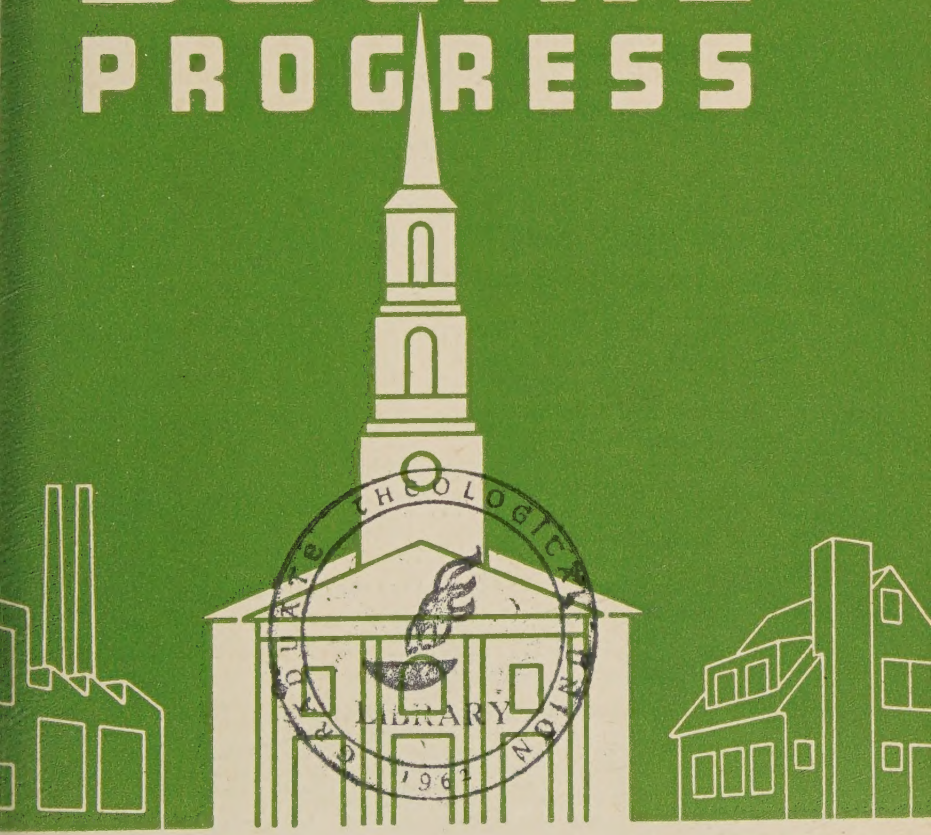
SOCIAL PROGRESS



Spiritual Significance of the Labor Movement
Peace Settlement and Germany
tian Youth Faces Racial Conflict

SEPTEMBER 1944

V. 35-36
Sep. 1944-
Jun. 1946

Table of Contents

G
pk

Articles **Page**

The Spiritual Significance of the Labor Movement, *by R. Worth Frank*. 1
Free, Yet Not Free, *by E. Stanley Jones*..... 4
Jobs—After the War? *from* Labor's Monthly Survey..... 5
The Church and Organized Labor, *by R. Murray Jones*..... 9
The Peace Settlement and Germany—*A Protestant Statement*.....12
Labor—Bulwark of Democracy and Peace, *by Clinton S. Golden*....15
Christian Youth Faces Racial Conflict, *by Margaret A. Barnes*.....18

Editorial Comment

For Times Like These.....20

Significant Statement

The I. L. O. Charter.....22

Sanctuary

We Press Forward Together.....24

Departments

The Workshop.....31
Study and Action.....33
About Books.....34
Current Films.....38
Index 39

Social Progress

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editors: Cameron P. Hall, Elsie G. Rodgers.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, 50 cents a year; three years for $1.25. Single copy, 10 cents.

Copyright 1944 by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Articles appearing herein furnish information on current issues, represent the personal opinion of the authors, and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies on behalf of the Department of Social Education and Action or the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

VOL. XXXV SEPTEMBER, 1944 No. 1

The Spiritual Significance of the Labor Movement

By R. Worth Frank *

FOR some people this subject calls at once for a footnote. To them it sounds like a brash paradox or "an enigma wrapped in a mystery." May I say that it is not thus intended. No doubt it is a subject that might induce apoplexy in those few who regard the labor movement as an adventure in organized racketeering or who think most labor leaders are gangsters.

These relatively few persons aside, however, there are those to whom this subject is honestly mystifying because of that word spiritual. The economic or political or industrial significance of the labor movement —yes—that is intelligible. But to speak of the spiritual significance of such a movement seems to be either presumptuous, or unfathomable, or just plain out of bounds. It sounds like talk about round squares, cubic hours, or white crows.

For too many people "spiritual" is a halo word that has to do only with the ethereal and celestial. It can have and must have no contaminating contact with anything terrestrial. Religion has only a vertical dimension—between God and man, but no horizontal dimension—between man and man. When the preacher ascends into the stratosphere, ten miles from land, sea, and mundane matters, he is being spiritual. And the higher he goes into this rarefied, thin air the purer is his spiritual ministry. The spiritual man is the successful refugee from grubbing, earthy realities. His motto concerning sweaty human issues is, if I may borrow a phrase from one of James Thurber's capti-

* Professor, McCormick Theological Seminary. An address before the Conference on Church Management and Labor of Chicago Presbytery.

461341

vating feminine dim wits, "Laissez faire and let laissez faire."

This certainly is a curious if not monstrous twist to the word spirituality. And we ministers and Churchmen are, I suspect, to blame. Our verbal sins and shortcomings, like chickens, sooner or later come home to roost. It is largely the outcome of what Vice-President Wallace has called "the wishy-washy, goody-goodness, the infantile irrelevancy of the Church itself."

This version of the term spiritual is neither Biblical, nor Christian, nor in accord with common sense. Moses was sent by God to lead the Israelites out of slavery as brickmakers under Pharaoh. It was a social and spiritual commission. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah dealt with the most controversial and explosive issues of their day in terms of God's will for men. They refused to keep hands off, minds shut, and tongues mute on these matters. Micah defined religion in both vertical and horizontal dimensions. These two dimensions were inseparable for him. And what's more, he put the horizontal squarely in the center of his definition: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" In our Lord's Prayer the petition for daily bread comes almost in the same breath with the petition for God's will to be done on earth.

Moreover, modern Christians have not thought it unspiritual to be concerned about juvenile delinquency, the problem of crime, right sex relations, the control of the liquor trade, the winning of wars, and the making of peace. In this they have exhibited sound Christian instincts. They have not been so preoccupied with God's will in heaven as to adjourn the work of God on earth.

What is the will and work of God for men on earth? If the Bible and the main stream of Christian history are trustworthy witnesses, then the true well-being of mankind is the will of God for men. Whatever bears upon man's well-being or ill-being has spiritual significance. Nothing truly human is foreign to religion or unspiritual in its import.

From this perspective the growth of nationalism, the fortunes of democracy, the course of the industrial revolution, and the rise of the labor movement are among the most profoundly significant spiritual phenomena of recent history. Their relentless circumpressure upon daily life and human destiny is just plain, inexorable fact. "It is a great mistake," says Archbishop William Temple, "to suppose that God is only, or even chiefly, concerned with religion." What is God's chief concern? It is the salvation of men in terms of an abundant life for the whole man; that is the divine adventure in history. Whatever aids or hinders such salvation has spiritual import. Whatever is neutral or ir-

relevant to such salvation is virtually atheistic, even though it employ all the verbiage and paraphernalia of religion. So much for the explanatory footnote.

I want to point out four things of definite spiritual significance in the labor movement. First, we are all indebted to the labor movement for certain solid social gains that we now take for granted but which once were unpopular and even dangerous causes. In the persistent agitation for free public schools, in the abrogation of imprisonment for debt, in the advocacy of free homesteads to relieve unemployment, and in the extension of the suffrage to all citizens labor took the lead. Organized labor has been a major factor in securing humane legislation that safeguards and benefits the vital interests of unorganized labor and the public as well as its own interests. Legislation for public safety and health, the abolition of night work and long hours for women, the reduction of child labor, the outlawing of sweatshops, accident compensation, old-age and social insurance, slum clearance, low-rent housing, and the safeguarding of civil liberties—these and scores of lesser gains that contribute to the true well-being of all Americans are traceable to the active and often sacrificial exertions of the vanguard of labor.[1]

[1] See H. Harris, *American Labor*, Yale University Press, 1933, and J. Myers, *Do You Know Labor?* The John Day Company, 1940, for more adequate and detailed evidence.

Charles A. Beard, one of our foremost historians, has said, "As far as the great body of social legislation enacted during the last thirty years is concerned, it must be confessed that it sprang from movements of opinion quite outside the range of political orthodoxy, that is, from the agitation of minorities winning concessions from the major parties."[2] Organized labor has probably been the most creative of all minority groups in fostering such social legislation. If that legislation is a gain and a good, then we should give credit where credit is due and acknowledge that labor represents another few to whom the many owe so much.

In the heat and passion of industrial strife the public at large thinks its role is that of a victim or a casualty in the conflict. But a calm, dispassionate review of history shows that we, the public, have been beneficiaries as well. And careful bookkeeping would indicate that we have been rather fortunate beneficiaries too. Nearly all great social gains have been pangborn. The pangs have been borne by the relatively few. The many have inherited the fruits of their labor. The labor movement is spiritually significant as a champion of certain humane social gains that now make up our common heritage of human welfare.

In the second place, the labor

(Continued on page 27)

[2] Cited in J. Myers, *Do You Know Labor?* p. 151.

Free, Yet Not Free

Notes on a Breakfast Talk

By E. Stanley Jones

WE ARE free to choose, but we are not free to choose the results of our choosing. The results will be taken care of by the moral laws of the universe.

We sometimes speak of breaking moral laws, but we never break them. They cannot be broken. What we really do is break ourselves against the unchanging moral laws of God.

The universe guarantees the instability of evil, for the simple reason that evil is out of harmony with the great principles and purposes of God.

Punishment is the inevitable concomitant of sin. It may not be external punishment, but we are certainly punished from within if we sin. There is much truth in Carlyle's statement that sin and punishment are the same thing.

As a corollary of the foregoing, if we plan at the peace table to let certain nations rule over others, or to put people in bondage, such a plan will necessarily fail because the moral laws of the universe will not stand for it.

By the same token, if the world leans toward supremacy of the white man instead of toward the dignity and sovereignty of man, the world is in for a violent upset because such selfishness is in conflict with the great moral laws of the universe.

The punishment which God administers is always redemptive. God never punishes to spite us, but always to redeem us. The Christian never worries about defeat. The cross itself represented defeat. But there is one good thing about defeat—it cannot be defeated, any more than brokenness can be broken. The only thing you can do with defeat is to accept it and use it as a starting point for new building. With the Christian, therefore, defeat is always a great opportunity.

Thank God we do not have to be what we have been.

*Jobs—After the War?**

From Labor's Monthly Survey

WILL there be jobs for all servicemen and war workers after the war? The answer is "yes," if we are able to get national industrial policy that makes it possible for private industry to give everyone a job. For nobody wants a WPA job or a place on relief rolls. What are the conditions of steady employment for all in private industry over the long term? First, workers' buying power at least equal to 1943 weekly wages, so that there will be a market for all the goods that industry can produce with everyone at work. Second, a maximum 40-hour work week, because with production per man-hour greatly increased during the war there will not be jobs enough for all if the week is longer. The U. S. Commerce Department estimates that with full employment at 1940 work hours American industry in 1946 can produce 50 per cent more than it did in 1940.[1] Total consumers' buying power in 1943 was 56 per cent above 1940 when adjusted for higher living costs, 37 per cent higher after taxes.

To assure postwar jobs for all, millions of American workers will have to buy automobiles, refrigerators, radios, new homes, mechanical home equipment, and the new products wartime inventions will put on the market. That will mean spending some of our savings in the first years, but after that our buying will depend on wages. It will take an income of at least $2,500 to buy these expensive things that mean a good living for American families and good business for industry; $2,500 a year on a 40-hour week means a wage of $1.25 per hour.

Wage Rates

Today more than 2,000,000 factory workers have straight-time wages of $1.20 per hour or more, a wage adequate to support a full employment economy; 1,720,000 are in war factories, and 370,000 in nonwar factories.[2] (See charts, pages 6 and 7.) Fast progress has been made since January, 1941, when only 330,000 had as much as $1.20 per hour. Another 2,190,000 have wages of $1.00 to $1.20 an hour, compared to only 740,000 in January, 1941. Industry could have afforded to raise millions more above $1.20 had

* Reprinted from *Labor's Monthly Survey*, March, 1944, with permission of the publisher, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C. See page 33, "Today and Tomorrow Leaflets."

[1] See U. S. Commerce Department pamphlet *Markets After the War*, pages 3 and 35. Note that 9,000,000 were unemployed in 1940. It will take total national production of 165 billion dollars' worth of goods (1942 prices) to give everyone a job after the war at a 1940 work week of 40 hours in general. The Department's table for full-employment production shows postwar buying power of consumers the same as 1943—and most consumers are workers.

[2] Labor Department figures for June, 1943.

it not been for wage stabilization. Much greater progress will be possible after the war, *if we have full production.*

But millions of workers still have wages below 70 cents an hour. There are approximately 4,500,000 in factories, and we estimate about 6,500,000 in nonwar industries: total, 11,000,000. A 70-cent wage on a 40-hour week will not support a family on even a bare subsistence living. It would give only $1,456 a year if a man works full time. And a bare living costs $1,663 for a family of four at January, 1944, prices.[3]

Wages are even lower in small cities. The Labor Department has figures for 12 typical cities of less than 20,000 population, which are doing very little war work. These cities are scattered throughout the country. Wages of most workers in typical jobs in stores, hotels, laundries, hospitals, wholesale groceries average from 24 cents to 43 cents an hour.[4]

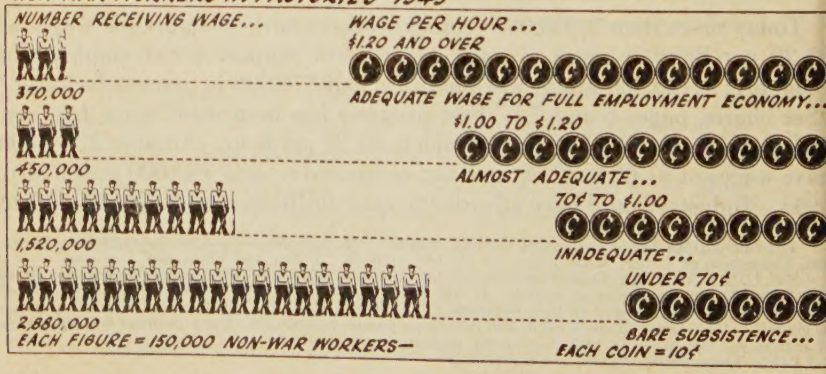
Those who fill the newspapers with outcries against the "high wages" workers are receiving have ignored these wage figures. One of the first postwar tasks is to raise these low wages.

Assured Pay for Veterans

How Can Returning Soldiers and War Workers Be Sure of Decent Pay After the War? The first essential is strong unions. In the strongly organized industries, such as building, newspaper printing, airplanes, shipbuilding, steel, straight-time hourly wages average from $1.04 to $1.27, while in many industries where unions do not yet cover a majority of the workers, such as

[3] Labor Department maintenance budget, average for 33 cities.

[4] Includes both men and women workers. From testimony of A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, before Subcommittee on Health and Education of Senate Committee on Education and Labor.



otton mills, retail trade, laundries, wages average from 57 cents to 69 cents.[5]

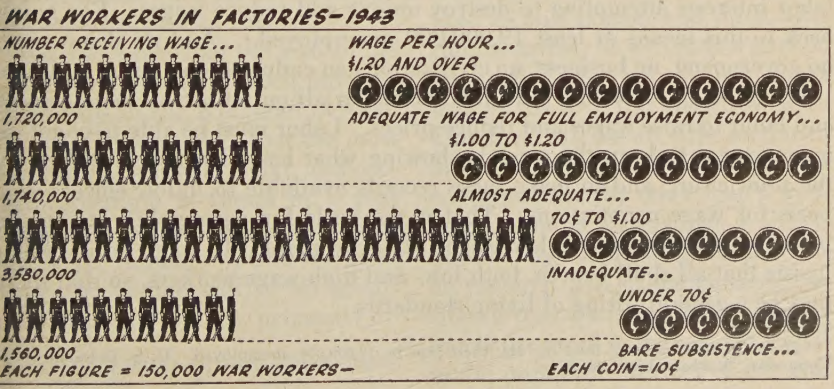
Or compare union and nonunion plants in the same city, as shown by tudies of the U. S. Labor Department (wages of men, 1943): Minneapolis irplane plants paid: assemblers: union, $1.12; nonunion, 89 cents; milling nachine operators: union, $1.17; nonunion, 98 cents; truck drivers: union, 4 cents; nonunion, 73 cents. Metal work in Cleveland paid: machinists: nion, $1.29; nonunion, $1.16. Printing in New Orleans paid: hand com- ositors: union, $1.07; nonunion, 91 cents; linotype men: union, $1.06; onunion, $1.02; cylinder pressmen: union, $1.00; nonunion, 93 cents.

The second essential is a realistic wage policy. Workers, through their nions, must see to it that periodic wage increases are given to all workers as production rises and savings on costs make wage increases possible.

The war has given us a striking example of the enormous savings that are ossible when workers and management improve efficiency and produce o capacity. The War Department announced, on February 16, that it is aying 20 per cent less on the average today for Army equipment than it aid two years ago. That means a saving of $9,000,000,000 to the nation y price reductions from January, 1942, through December, 1943, made ossible by the efficiency of management and labor. A further saving of $4,700,000,000 will be made in the first six months of 1944 through price eductions effective this year: total $13,700,000,000.[6] In wartime when ages are stabilized to prevent inflation and profits heavily taxed, manage- ent and labor contribute this saving to the nation, reducing the war debt.

[5] Labor Department figures for December, 1943, except retail trade, which is for October, to void abnormal Christmas rush figure.

[6] Announcement by Brigadier General Albert J. Browning, Director of Purchases Division, Army ervice Forces, Press Conference, February 16.



In peacetime large savings can also be made, if industry operates to capacity. A program providing high workers' buying power so that there can be large-scale production can bring about an economy of plenty in this country, with full employment and decent living standards for all. In peacetime savings can be divided among the three groups which make business possible: (1) compensation to management for its part; (2) higher wages to workers for their part; and (3) lower prices to consumers without whose buying business could not exist.

These savings, made possible through the mutual effort of management and labor, give the answer to our low-wage problem. Even the lowest-wage workers can reach a health and efficiency living standard, provided they are organized in unions and a proper working relationship with management brings about wage increases as they are earned by joint effort.

This does not mean that an inefficient plant can be excused from paying decent wages on the claim that they can't be earned. It is labor's responsibility to insist on a decent living wage; management's concern is to see that efficiency makes that wage possible. Labor can do much to help. But this does not mean speed-up; it means that management recognizes labor's partnership through the union and labor's right to an increasing wage, so that workers may give their fullest effort to improve production.

We Must Go Forward

We are facing a different period after the war. We must have full employment—sure jobs for all servicemen and all war workers. To get full employment, we must have full production, and to get full production, high buying power, high living standards are essential.

We cannot go back to prewar wages, or to a struggle instigated by anti-labor interests attempting to destroy unions and reduce wages. For going back to this means at least 19,000,000 unemployed.[7] And no democracy, no government, no business, no civilization can endure such a thing and live.

We must go forward. And this means an all-out effort by management and labor to raise wages and reduce prices. Labor must be able to count on management to keep the records showing what has been accomplished by the joint effort, and to make these records available to union officers as a basis for wage negotiations. That is the basis for partnership leading to better production and higher wages plant by plant. In wage policy labor insists that all shall benefit, both low- and high-wage workers, so that there may be a general lifting of living standards.

[7] If we produce no more than in 1940, there will be 19,000,000 unemployed. U. S. Department of Commerce, *Markets After the War.*

The Church and Organized Labor

By R. Murray Jones *

THE Church and organized labor should discover each other. To ne who knows the history of the Church and of organized labor, that nay seem a strange statement. Always there has been contact beween them. Sometimes they have een close as they have worked for he same things. Estrangement has ome by indifference to social justice n the part of much of the Church; y vicious and antisocial policies nd practices on the part of some abor organizations; and by shortightedness and self-interest on the art of both. These shortcomings re very real and are not to be overooked, but Churchmen, who are ommissioned to bring all nations nder the discipline of Jesus, should ecognize as fellow workers those rganizations, be they labor or mangement, that work for social justice nd a more abundant life.

We may grant that the goal of the hurch is to bring all men into one ellowship in the Kingdom of God. Ve may believe, also, that the most cceptable political, social, and ecoomic medium is found in a real emocracy, where the government ill be the minister of God for good all the people and so no group eed organize to look primarily to its own interest. Still, we must take the world as it is to have an opportunity to make it what it ought to be. Labor unions have an important place and function in the modern world, and the Church must take steps to minister to and with this great force in our society. Churchmen are needed to lead the way. Churchmen aspiring to such leadership need careful preparation.

The Church Representative—Preparation

The first thing necessary for any Churchman who is to meet with organized labor as a representative of the Church is to know and be committed to the true implications of the Christian religion. A true Christian will be dedicated to the will of God; he will discipline his life by the teachings of Jesus; he will seek justice; he will hunger and thirst after righteousness; he will have a passion for truth; his characteristic mark will be his love for his fellow men. This love will be no silly sentiment but will cause the Christian to be as concerned for the other man's well-being as he is for his own. This is not all there is to religion, but it is an essential part of the vital expression of true Christian faith. Such a one is prepared to witness for Christ in the important matters of life that

* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Inglewood, California.

are the concern of the members of labor organizations.

The second thing required is that our Churchman become acquainted with the history of religion and the social advancement of the masses of men. There is much overlapping between these two, but there is also much conflict. It will help us to understand and to be efficient workers if we have the broad perspective that this history can give. It will help us to recognize our true heritage in this day of confusion, and real democracy will have new and better champions, and ofttimes repentant ones.

The third thing needful for our Churchman is an understanding of and sensitivity to modern social and economic conditions. Economics and Christian stewardship are one. He should be able to recognize the modern forms and practices of coveting and mammon worship, the blocks to brotherhood, and the sins against Christian love.

One of the things that must be known so well by every man that it will be a tool that he can use effectively is the wealth of social studies and pronouncements that have been made by the Church in recent years. These will include those of denominations and those of the ecumenical conferences such as the Oxford Conference of 1937 and the Delaware Conference of 1942. The role of God's Church must not be despised, but must be honored and exalted. Those who accept the spirit and content of these pronouncements wi have an effective approach to labo and will be representative witnesse of God at work in the world throug his Church.

Another part of his preparatio and background is to learn of labo through other sources than the dail press. He should read both libera and conservative labor journals. H should read books such as: *Do Yo Know Labor?* by James Myers, in dustrial secretary of the Federa Council of the Churches of Christ i America, and *Labor and the War*, labor fact book published by th Labor Research Foundation.

Our Churchman will also seek t know labor from men who have ha experience in it. His fellow Church men, some laborers and some em ployers, can teach him much. H must not be satisfied with a little pic ture, for it will not be representative He will discover good and bad in th picture and will be prepared then t judge and discriminate.

The Labor Ambassador—His Job

Long before he has completed thi process, our Churchman will wan to meet with organized labor. H should not hesitate, but should g into labor offices seeking mutual a quaintance with labor leaders. Thes should include local unions abou which laboring men or employers i the community or the telephone d rectory will give information; th

offices of the labor councils are listed usually under American Federation of Labor and Council of Industrial Organizations; and the railroad unions listed under Brotherhood.

Such a visitor will almost always be welcomed at union offices, often eagerly, and not infrequently with surprise. He should talk of matters of common concern to labor and religion, listen with open mind and heart, and before leaving the office request some of the literature of the union. Some unions are not so rich in this material as others, but if he is persistent enough to go to several unions, he will find plenty of important information. He should be sure to ask for copies of the constitution of the union. The preambles of some of these will thrill him with their statements of purpose.

If this man holds the opinion of unions held in prejudice by the ill-informed, he will be amazed at the democratic procedure established by most of these constitutions. He should visit the editor of the local labor press and should subscribe for at least one of the papers. He will find that these editors seek good material from the Churches for their papers.

Our Churchman will no doubt be invited to the meetings and conventions of the unions, but if not he should ask if he will be welcome. To attend several meetings of several unions before drawing conclusions is important. The earnestness, intelligence, honesty, and democracy of most of the meetings will be refreshing and will give him a new faith in the people.

If opportunity to speak is offered, the Churchman who has prepared himself will know what to say. He will find wonderful opportunities of promising service opening to him. Many unions invite fraternal relationship with the Churches, but Protestants have neglected the opportunity. He should see that these relationships are established with organized Protestantism rather than with separate denominations.

If this labor ambassador is in a large center, he may find that the opportunities are so many and great that a full-time executive should be employed to relate the Church to the industrial situation. This man should meet with management as well as labor, for he must be neither partial, one-sided, nor divisive, and a large share of his time should be reserved for the education of the Church in regard to the vital matters of industry that affect so greatly the life of our society.

As relationships between labor and the Churches increase, a program will develop, speakers will be exchanged, and community problems will be faced together. Fellowship, understanding, and influence will deepen and in due time, feeling the fruits of united effort, the community will understand and be glad too.

The Peace Settlement and Germany

A Protestant Statement

The following statement was prepared by a group of Protestant leaders appointed by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace to study the problems of the peace settlements in Europe with special reference to Germany. This nonofficial statement was released for the consideration of the Churches, on June 1, 1944.

IT IS a special responsibility of the Christian Church in the United State to prepare the minds of the people of the nation for right relations with the German people after the war. One of the guiding principles that ha controlled the thought of the American Churches so far is "that it is contrary to the moral order that nations in their dealings with one another should b motivated by a spirit of revenge and retaliation" (Statement of Guiding Christian Principles, No. 3, adopted by the Protestant Conference at Dela ware, Ohio, in March, 1942). The Churches have a special reason to know that there are many Germans whom Hitler does not represent, for the re sistance of German Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, is well known As the Archbishop of Canterbury has recently said, "Church leaders in Germany have shown noble courage in upholding principles by which Ger man conduct in Poland or Czechoslovakia or elsewhere is evidently con demned, and we honor them for their fearless witness." The Church also knows from its teaching that however one-sided may be the responsibility for the events which led directly to this war and for the horrors that have accompanied it, all nations share responsibility for the deeper evils of which they are symptoms. The sense of common guilt that Christians must fee when they contemplate the total crisis of our times will alone make possibl reconciliation with the German people in the future. The Church should recognize the need for discipline in the peace in the interest of justice, bu it should not despair of the people of any nation.

One necessary condition for world peace is a united policy with respec to Europe. If Europe is divided into independent spheres of influence with out a significant agreement between the United States, Britain, and Russi in the framework of a world organization, it will once again be the battle ground, first in political struggles for power and then in war. A hopefu policy for Europe as a whole must include a plan that is designed to restor the people of Germany to health and sanity. The test of any policy fo Germany must be: Will this policy prepare the German people for a con structive part in European life ten years from now or will its chief effect b to keep Germany a center of infection at the heart of Europe? It would b

politically easy at first to reduce Germans to a state of virtual imprisonment, but it would be impossible to keep the prison doors shut for long. This proved to be impossible after the last war. Such a policy of mere repression would assure a spirit of resentment to the point of madness within Germany and sooner or later an abnormal people would be let loose upon the world. Since the peace of the world depends upon the peace of Europe and since the peace of Europe requires a constructive solution of the German problem, we urge upon the Governments of the United Nations that their policy in regard to Germany be based upon the following principles:

1. *The discipline of Germany because of the crimes she has committed should not be controlled by a spirit of vindictiveness but by concern for European recovery and peace.*

The defeat of Germany will in itself be a severe punishment. It will come after the destruction of many of her cities, after overwhelming losses in men and in national wealth. It will bring national humiliation. It will be followed by enforced disarmament immediately. Germany should restore stolen property as far as this is possible and she should aid in rebuilding what she has destroyed. But neither the economic stability of Europe as a whole nor the preparation of the people of Germany for freedom and peace would be served by extracting reparations from her over a long period.

The punishment of those most responsible for such acts of terror as the mass slaughter of the people in conquered countries, and the systematic extermination of the Jews of Europe, is an elementary demand of justice. Indeed crimes have been committed for which no conceivable punishment seems adequate, but such punishment should be limited to those whose responsibility is central and not extend to the soldiers who were implicated because they carried out orders. Some form of temporary segregation might be devised for those who were mere instruments in crime. For the United Nations to engage in a long-continued program of cold-blooded mass executions would debauch the world.

2. *The dismemberment of Germany into separate states should not be imposed upon the Germans.*

The enforced division of Germany would heighten German nationalism and it would probably lead to the development of the fiercest irredentism that has ever afflicted Europe. The dismemberment of Germany into independent states unless provision were made for economic unity would strangle

the economic life of the Germans and impair the prosperity of Europe. A political division of Germany which is widely supported by Germans themselves and which preserves economic unity would not be open to the same objections if it were part of a larger federation of European states.

3. *Our policy in dealing with Germany should be calculated to strengthen the forces inside Germany which are committed to freedom and international co-operation.*

There are millions of Germans who have not been deeply corrupted by Nazism. In the Churches, among the workers, and among liberals who have resisted Hitler "the other Germany" lives. It will be necessary to remove from power the leaders of National Socialism together with their accomplices among the industrialists, the military class, and the reactionary landowners. But the cleansing of Germany—both its public life and its soul—from the poison of National Socialism must be primarily the work of Germans.

4. *While corrective and precautionary measures are taken to end the menace of Nazism and militarism in Germany, efforts should be made to enable the people of Germany to find for themselves the necessary economic conditions for a good life.*

In the Atlantic Charter it is said that the two nations represented "will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." This promise to vanquished as well as victors still stands. Those responsible for the policy of the United Nations should hold to it. An impoverished Germany will continue to be a menace to the peace of the world. Some method must be found to prevent German rearmament without depriving Germany of her industry. The permanent destruction of German industry would not only impoverish Germany but also lower the European standard of living.

John C. Bennett, Chairman
R. H. Edwin Espy
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Wm. Ernest Hocking
Rufus Jones
Wm. Allen Neilson
Reinhold Niebuhr
O. Frederick Nolde
Henry Pitney Van Dusen
Arnold Wolfers

Labor—Bulwark of Democracy and Peace

By Clinton S. Golden *

MOST of us presumably are committed to the goal of international co-operation to achieve a lasting peace. We probably are in more or less agreement on the desirability of raising levels of living throughout the world and in encouraging democratic institutions.

A tremendous test for civilization lies ahead. We must build international machinery for settling political conflicts between nations. We must also develop international machinery for dealing with economic problems. A start in these directions has already been made, though not so much as we all would like.

Democratic institutions provide the means through which the overwhelming desire of the people for peace and full employment may be expressed. They also provide the channel for constructive contribution by the people to the solution of their problems. In the United States there are many imperfections in our political institutions that impede the fulfillment of the people's will; but the more genuine and perfect the democracy, the less the possible deviation from the course best for the nation or the world.

Labor Unions and Democracy

Labor unions are basic democratic institutions which contribute to making the people's will effective. They are the means by which workers unite to advance their interests through collective bargaining in the economic field and through united action in the political field.

In exerting such influence, the workers are not acting simply as another pressure group, for in a modern industrial nation, wage earners and salaried workers speak for a very large proportion of the people themselves. Businessmen, even small businessmen, make up only a small minority of the people. Farmers usually are another large group, though of diminishing importance as agriculture is mechanized and factories grow. Thus in the United States today there are some forty million wage and salary workers, only about five million farm operators, and a still smaller number of small businessmen. Labor unions thus are not just a special-interest group. They are the means by which the laboring people, who are many but have little wealth, can secure policies which may not be favored by powerful businessmen,

* Vice-chairman, Office of Manpower Requirements of the War Production Board, and vice-chairman of the War Manpower Commission, being on leave of absence from his duties as assistant to the president of the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.). An address before the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, April, 1944. Condensed with permission from *The Annals*, July, 1944.

who are few in number but extremely powerful because of their dominant position in huge corporations, which largely govern the economy.

Unions today are not primarily concerned with getting a larger share of the nation's loaf. They want to see bigger and better loaves, so that everyone will have plenty. Or, to put it more scientifically, they want full employment, full production, and full consumption, so that the terrific wastes that result from partial use of resources will be eliminated.

Such a program would benefit not merely wage and salaried workers of all types, but also veterans, farmers, small businessmen, and even corporate management and stockholders, even though the latter may not realize it.

International Outlook of Labor

All this discussion is relevant to international affairs because labor unions in all nations have similar characteristics and goals. Throughout the world they are the spearhead of efforts to solve the basic economic problem of conquering poverty and insecurity through an economy that functions at ever-higher production levels.

Realization of this international community of interest is not yet complete, but it is growing rapidly. Workers are increasingly aware that the United States cannot advance to higher levels of living if workers elsewhere are degraded. The failure of political isolationis was demonstrated at Pearl Harbor.

The international viewpoint c labor in the United States is demon strated by the complete and unani mous commitment of the Congres of Industrial Organizations to in ternational co-operation to preserv peace, raise levels of living, and pro mote democracy. We favor inter national aid not only in relief an rehabilitation, but to increase capita investment and develop resource throughout the world. We oppos the restrictive practices of cartels which limit production, hold u prices, stifle competition, and thu make full employment and consump tion impossible.

The American Federation of Labo too is committed to full employmen and has become more and mor aware of the importance of inter national co-operation.

The organized labor movement of the United Nations will meet i London in June (1944) to discus problems of war and peace. Th British Trades Union Congress ha invited to the conference labo unions of all types, realizing th need for overcoming difference within the labor movement if genu ine international collaboration is t be achieved. The Russian trad unions will be represented, eve though their functions under Communist dictatorship are natu ally very different from thos of labor unions in capitalist d

mocracies. The C.I.O. will send a full delegation. The conference will mark a new milestone toward international co-operation by labor to help to solve world economic, political, and social problems.

Unions in Axis and Liberated Countries

The rebuilding of labor unions in the Axis nations will be the best possible assurance that they will become democratic, peace-loving countries. This may sound like an extreme statement, but it is justified by the facts. These nations once had labor unions which supported democracy and resolutely opposed the rise of nationalist dictators. In Italy, Japan, and Germany alike, free labor organizations had to be destroyed before the Fascists could make their power secure and proceed with plans for foreign aggression. Free trade unionism and Fascism are incompatible. The growth of the former will help to destroy the latter.

Indeed, the nations of the world should take alarm whenever the labor movement of a country is destroyed or repressed. There can be no better signal of danger to international peace and democracy. The danger signals are flying even now in Spain and in Argentina. The United Nations cannot afford to temporize permanently with the dictators in these nations who represent the very evils against which this war is being fought.

Free labor organizations in former Fascist countries, like unions throughout the world, will share our goals of full employment, democracy, and peace. The natural desire on the part of workers of all types to band together to protect their common interests under modern industrial conditions will be manifested again. Unions will grow and will again aid in creative solution of national and international problems.

If strong labor unions arise once more in new democratic republics, then there will be good reason to expect that even Germany will before too long be an upholder rather than a violator of international order. But even during the doubtful transition period, unions will help to police any disarmament arrangements in Germany or Italy or Japan. Unions will function in the factories and chemical plants. Workers know a tractor from a tank. They can distinguish poison gas from insecticide. The men in the plants will be much better informed on what is going on within their nation than any international commission or occupying force can hope to be.

Whether the workers will report violations will depend on the incentive they have and the protection they can rely on. If the peace settlement seems constructive and just to them, they will wish to support it. If their nation has been treated too harshly

(Continued on page 26)

Christian Youth Faces Racial Conflict

By Margaret A. Barnes *

The following is one of the ten winning essays contributed by Presbyterian young people to the essay contest on the theme "How Can Christian Young People Promote Better Interfaith and Interracial Relations?"

THIS tragic global war, which is shaking our civilization from its very foundations, is showing us again in new and more horrible ways that the only alternative to world chaos is world brotherhood, that in order to maintain peace we must pay the inevitable price of reconciliation. Those who follow the Christ of love are anxious to apply his teachings to their national and community problems as well. Although these problems may seem trivial in the light of international crisis, they are fundamentally similar in principle and can become equally dangerous if they are allowed to grow to world-wide proportions.

Today Christian young people across the country are challenged to tear down barriers of misunderstanding and hatred between different races and faiths. Injustice to the Negro, anti-Semitism, hatred for Japanese-Americans, cruelty to those of Mexican blood—all these problems must be met squarely. Through Churches, schools, communities, and personal contacts we must attack the two principal causes of tension—fear and ignorance.

To begin our plan for action, let us consider the school, where the boys and girls of the community, regardless of their backgrounds, spend most of their time. Do we find that Negroes invariably form cliques of their own, or that Jewish students are ostracized if they appear at school social functions? In an attempt to bring these groups into the life of their school, students in New York's High School of Music and Art voluntarily changed places with them in the school cafeteria, and in doing so found new friends. Making a special effort to include those of all types of backgrounds in extra-curricular activities and positions of responsibility, such as the student council, helps to integrate the student body and promote a wider respect for different races and creeds.

Then how about the school newspaper? When large national news sources are being accused of arousing racial antagonism, we students must be doubly certain that no prejudiced statements find their way into our publications, and that every effort to influence student opinion will be an effort to bring about good will.

In some schools definite program

* Age 16. Universtiy Heights Presbyterian Church, New York City.

f interfaith education are worked nto the curriculum, while other chool groups interested in inter- ultural relations follow plans sim- lar to the Reconciliation Trips of New York, which offer planned, guided tours of housing conditions, working environments, and religious centers of misunderstood groups.

The community center or the local "Y" might be a convenient place to hold a neighborhood festival such as those planned by the Intercultural Education Workshop in New York. A deeper understanding and closer fellowship are brought about by the festival method through some of the beautiful traditions of different nationalities, races, and faiths. Enlarging local youth recreation committees to represent the racial and religious groups in the community has proved to be a successful way of bringing all young people into the community's social life.

Perhaps the most fertile ground for cultivating friendship and understanding between those of conflicting backgrounds can be found in the Church. In the neighborhood of my own Church, for example, were found not only houses of worship for the principal Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths, but also Churches for people of Spanish, Hungarian, Italian, Negro, and German blood. Such a list suggests many ideas for interchurch discussions and joint meetings, both social and religious.

Discussion often leads to more practical acts of good will toward other Churches, such as work teams sent to help with redecorating rooms. Lasting friendships with Negroes, Jews, or Japanese-Americans are the rewards for working together with people of these conflicting groups. Some boys and girls who are determined not to lose the benefits of interracial summer conferences and work camps have formed groups for week-end outings after the summer.

The success of the five-hundred-voice chorus which recently "sang out against hate" at Madison Square Garden and the many combined choirs singing together every year for the Goodwill Choir Festival at Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York shows the value of an interracial choir.

With all of our plans for group action toward eliminating the color line and promoting deeper understanding between faiths, we must not overlook the opportunities and responsibilities which are ours as Christian individuals. How often do we sit beside a Negro on the bus when other seats are available, or patronize nondiscriminating movie houses and restaurants? These are simple gestures, but they are gestures nevertheless.

The job before us of breaking down hatred and misunderstanding is not an easy one, for we sow and reap in terms of brotherhood, which is our only true hope for a future of peace and happiness.

Social Education and Action—Report and Preview

The salient elements in the report of the Standin Committee on Social Education and Action, as ap proved by the General Assembly in May last may b summarized as follows:

I. The approval of the Report of the Departmen of Social Education and Action on "The Church and Industrial Relations." This report was based upon a two-year study, undertaken by a special grou of 16 Church leaders, 13 of whom were lay men and women. Taking it stand on the conviction that "the great majority of the membership an leaders of organized labor are sincere, conscientious, and increasingly con cerned with the welfare of the whole community," the report speaks *t* organized labor with reference to its own responsibilities and *on behalf o* organized labor, for a better understanding of its aims and contributions, a more equitable place for it in the national life, and for an economic orde that is the expression of economic justice and industrial democracy.

II. General Assembly directed the Department of Social Education an Action to undertake a study in connection with "proposals concerning th maintenance of the ministry" for report to the General Assembly in 194 Like the former study on the Church and Industrial Relations, this one is t be made "in co-operation with ministers and laymen of special competenc in this field."

III. General Assembly expressed the hope that a Campaign of Educatio for World Order might be undertaken by the Department of Social Educa tion and Action "on behalf of the entire Church," and to that end, called upo the Department to co-opt as "needed members of other Boards and agencie and of the Church-at-large." During the summer, at the call of the De partment, informal meetings representative of the Church as a whole hav been held and general agreements have been reached. These are bein elaborated and announcement of campaign plans will be made early i the autumn.

IV. By action of General Assembly, the Committee on Social Educatio and Action of the Board of Christian Education was increased from 18 t 20 members, the two new members to be nominated by The Board of Foreig Missions. Also by action of General Assembly, one of the nine membe from the Church-at-large is to be chosen from the non-Board members the National Council of Presbyterian Women. From its beginning, th Committee on Social Education and Action has included members of th Board of Christian Education and the Board of National Missions. Th

e These

ecent action means that the committee is now fully representative of the fe and thought of the Church as a whole.

V. Of outstanding significance is the main body of the report with its ex- ression of Christian insight and conviction on current social problems in ie following areas: International Relations, the Church and the Veteran, ie Christian's Responsibility for Political Action, Social Tensions, the Ministry and Economic Security, and Juvenile Welfare.

Vhat Is Your udgment?

To its own members and to those unrelated to its Churches, the General Assembly seeks to interpret, through its Report on Social Education and Action, the relevance of the great principles of the Christian faith to ie causative factors underlying the explosive situations in the social order.

More than usual recognition has been accorded by those outside the enomination, as well as within it, to the reports on these issues of public oncern adopted last May by the General Assembly. The reader is invited o secure the report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and ction and the report on "The Church and Industrial Relations,"[1] and udge for himself whether or not this recognition is warranted. It is sug- ested that this be done with three questions in mind:

I. It is the Christian faith that neither business nor government, neither ie professions nor the nations are a law unto themselves. They must onform to the moral law, or in more Christian phrasing, the will of God s revealed in Jesus Christ. Query: Do these social pronouncements beat ie air, or do they instead express principles, and show an awareness of irrent issues, which are vital to social well-being?

II. While the principles of the Kingdom of God are eternal and change- ss, they must be applied always in the light of the specific character of a articular historic situation. Query: Do these social pronouncements deal nly in religious and ethical generalities, or do they as well bear upon cur- ent and specific issues which Christians within the nation face at this time?

III. "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Query: Did General ssembly, through its social pronouncements, speak only for today, or, ith prophetic discernment, did its declarations point toward an advance n behalf of social and international well-being, which must take place in, et us say, the next ten years?

[1] Available, upon request, without charge, to the Department of Social Education and Action, 0 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., or to any Presbyterian Book Store.

The I. L. O. Charter *

"The general conference of the International Labor Organization, meeting in its twenty-sixth session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts, this tenth day of May in the year nineteen hundred and forty-four, the present declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its members.

I

"The conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the organization is based and, in particular, that:

"(*a*) Labor is not a commodity;

"(*b*) Freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;

"(*c*) Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;

"(*d*) The war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

"Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the preamble to the constitution of the International Labor Organization that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the conference affirms that:

"(*a*) All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursuit of both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;

"(*b*) The attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;

"(*c*) All national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

"(*d*) It is a responsibility of the International Labor Organization to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

"(*e*) In discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labor Organization having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decision and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

* As printed in *The New York Times* of May 11, 1944.

III

"The conference recognizes the solemn obligation of the International Labor Organiation to further among the nations of the world programs which will achieve:

"(*a*) Full employment and the raising of standards of living;

"(*b*) The employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the atisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their reatest contribution to the common well-being;

"(*c*) The provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate uarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labor, including migration for employment and settlement;

"(*d*) Policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work alculated to insure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living vage to all employed and in need of such protection;

"(*e*) The effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation f management and labor in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and he collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social nd economic measures;

"(*f*) The extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need f such protection and comprehensive medical care;

"(*g*) Adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

"(*h*) Provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

"(*i*) The provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and ulture;

"(*j*) The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

"Confident that the fuller and broader utilization of the world's productive resources ecessary for the achievement of the objective set forth in this declaration can be sesured by effective international and national action, including measures to expand production and consumption, to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to promote the economic nd social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater tability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume f international trade, the conference pledges the full co-operation of the International abor Organization with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share f the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education nd well-being of all peoples.

V

"The conference affirms that the principles set forth in this declaration are fully pplicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application ust be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development eached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, s well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern o the whole civilized world."

Sanctuary

We Press Forward Together

We would be building; temples still undone
O'er crumbling walls their crosses scarcely lift;
Waiting till love can raise the broken stone,
And hearts creative bridge the human rift;
We would be building, Master, let Thy plan
Reveal the life that God would give to man.

PURD E. DEITZ

Workers All

Economic practices and industrial relationships are today of major and, perhaps of primary importance to any hope for a more Christian social order in our technological world. The economic order is not an autonomous system, outside and apart from the moral order as conceived in the Christian faith. It is one aspect, and a neglected aspect, of the moral order. The essential dignity of human personality, recognized in family and other personal relations, demands the same respect in economic and industrial relations.

Moral responsibility must be joined to social power of any kind, and this injunction applies directly to men and women in charge of the direction of economic affairs. Whatever be the measure of man's power over his fellows, it must be exercised under God and be held racially responsible and accountable to well informed public opinion.

The divine purpose in human history, in part, is executed by great social groups the members of which are often unaware that they are fulfilling a divine mission. Nevertheless, labor leaders, management executives, legislators, judges, and others have served the purposes of God by promoting social justice. It is the duty of the Christian Church to recognize this fact and to further this working of the divine will by sending into all walks of life men and women trained to make their vocation an instrument for consciously expanding God's purposes throughout society.

The individual and society are together a living unity. . . . The Christian ideal of the abundant life must recognize the dependence of men upon an economic order sustained by a moral purpose through its organized provision for fellowship, opportunity, security, and justice.—"The Church and Industrial Relations—A Report.[1]

Meditation and Prayer[2]

"Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God."—Psalm 90: 1, 2.

O Thou who art our dwelling place in all generations, who set the morning stars singing together for joy upon their trackless way, be with us now to guide and direct our steps. Amen.

---

[1] Copy of this report may be obtained on request from any Presbyterian Book Store. Ministers and other leaders will find in it suitable source material for sermon or talk.

[2] Adapted from *The Disciplines of Freedom*, by Leslie T. Pennington. The Beacon Press, In

"I am the way, the truth, and the life."—John 14: 6.

And now may the Spirit which was in Jesus be in us also, enabling us to know the truth, to do the will of God, and to abide in His peace. Amen.

"Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end . . . to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever.—Isaiah 9: 7.

Creative Spirit who hast set Thy people upon their widening ways, grant us the daring vision to bear forward Thy creative work. Amen.

"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."—II Corinthians 3: 17.

O God, teach us the meaning of our common life with our fellow men. We thank Thee for the great trust and promise of our liberty. Grant that we may prove worthy of it in our day, and may the full resources of Thy Spirit flowing through us sanctify, ennoble, and direct us in the privileges and responsibilities of our citizenship. Amen.

"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."—John 5: 17.

"All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work. . . . They maintain the fabric of the world, and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer."—Ecclesiasticus 38: 31, 34.

In defense of the need and right of every man to the mastery and exercise of skill, L. P. Jacks once wrote: "There is nothing so essential to the maintenance and development of civilization. A sound religion and a sound society will therefore combine in cultivating the right to skill for every man. It is the clue to our salvation, our personal wholeness, our organic union in society.

O Thou who hast set about us everywhere the forces of creation and hast endowed us with the power to create, grant that we may perfect Thy gifts to the service of our fellows and to Thy glory. Amen.

"Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children . . . : and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it."—Psalm 90: 16, 17.

"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."—Hebrews 11: 1.

The good is not static; it grows; and the evil grows also. This is why, of all human faculties, the spirit must be most sensitive, alert, discriminating, ready to move forward into the duties which arise from new occasions; understanding, patient, yet ready to act with foresight and initiative when the moment for action comes. Religious faith is no rule of safety; it is a daring adventure into the unknown, the unexplored, the unfulfilled.

God of all who labor on land or sea or air, grant that we may share in that fellowship which maintains the fabric of the world. May we go forward, workers together with Thee, with faith and in the spirit of "self-reliant and dauntless men whose instinct is daring beyond the call of duty." Amen.

Labor—Bulwark of Democracy and Peace

(Continued from page 17)

and no hope for progress is in sight, their voluntary co-operation can hardly be expected. While a repetition of aggression must be prevented, the people of Germany must be aided to develop economic and political institutions that meet their needs. Democratic elements in those nations must be assured of protection when they assert themselves. That protection will have to defend them against prosecution and economic insecurity.

Labor Representation in Government

Above all, the democratic nations such as our own must win over the liberated peoples by the compelling argument of their own example in solving basic economic, political, and social problems. Our own institutions will inevitably be compared with Russia's. If Russia achieves full employment and we do not, our methods will not necessarily seem the best. If we permit grave injustices against the Negroes to continue, while Russians give each racial group equal treatment, our talk about democracy will sound hollow. If ultraconservatives—or may I call them reactionaries?—are elected in 1944, the chances for the spread of Communism in Europe and Asia will be increased.

Labor must be represented in the government in both national and international activities. Labor spokesmen should be appointed as delegates to all international conferences. Otherwise the delegates are all too likely to come from business or professional experiences that do not keep them sufficiently in touch with the people's needs and desires. The absence of labor representation so far at such conclaves is by no means a good omen.

The only international tripartite body in which labor now has spokesmen is the International Labor Organization. The representatives of unions, employers, and government gathered at its conferences have furthered the raising of labor standards even though their recommendations have not been binding. The permanent staff has gathered much useful information on world labor conditions. It is to be hoped that the coming conference will take a progressive stand on methods of strengthening the organization and improving working conditions everywhere. It is unfortunate that under the present system of representation the C.I.O. has not been able to participate fully in its activities. World co-operation and peace will not be achieved if narrow viewpoints are permitted to prevail.

But if barriers of selfishness are broken down, if all peoples succeed in making their desires effective, then gradually the world will move toward genuine co-operation to raise levels of living everywhere, to abolish poverty and suffering, to promote democratic freedoms and institutions, and to preserve peace.

The authority of the Christian Church lies in the Lordship of Christ over all of life. His principles are proclaimed in what he said and in what he was in his own life among men.

It is not enough for the Church to know what these principles are or to proclaim them by the spoken or written word. They must be applied to intimate and far-flung human relationships. If the democracy of this nation and the world order among the nations following the war are to be built upon the principles of Christ, it will be only because there are people who care enough to become the agents for their application in the affairs of the community, the nation, and the world.

—*Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action*

The Spiritual Significance of the Labor Movement

(Continued from page 3)

movement has, on the whole, been in line with and advanced that healthy and ethically defensible Americanism which is our most precious and distinctive national heritage. Let me put it this way: the labor movement has had and still has directional value for sound Americanism.

The heart of a sound Americanism seems to be the maintenance of a dynamic, open society which will give every man, woman, and child both the chance and the means to develop his potentialities. The history of American labor, notwithstanding some checkered chapters and irresponsible social behavior, has coincided with and advanced this upward and onward direction of American life. It has forced the recognition that the laborer is a person, not a commodity. It has resisted the dehumanizing effects upon men of long hours, low wages, recurrent unemployment, industrial overstrain, and economic insecurity. In its struggle for a higher standard of living it has provided the masses of men and their families with the means to a better life, increased their effective freedom, and removed at least some of the economic sources of personal and family frustration. In its promotion of protective social legislation it has given the workers new faith that their Government is vitally concerned, not only in the protection of property rights, but also in the protection of the rights of the masses. Long before the Atlantic Charter was promulgated it fought for the Four Freedoms. And it has helped to preserve the right to hope among millions. In particular the American labor movement has done two very constructive things in the past one hundred and fifty years. First, it has helped American society to make a revolutionary transition without losing its bearings. For it has helped to preserve a large measure of equality and opportunity for workers to get on and get ahead, to improve their lives and their lot, as American society moved from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly industrial economy. This is a revolutionary transition. American society has made it without losing the American dream or its sense of direction toward an open future for all citizens.

Secondly, the labor movement has shown that effective freedom and effective opportunity in an industrial society can be had and increased only through effective and responsible organization. The modern man can no longer enjoy the freedom of a Robinson Crusoe on his desert island or of the pioneer in his little clearing on the edge of an untouched, virgin wilderness. The organization of the world is going on apace. It is futile to set our faces against it. Halford E. Luccock, who has a flair for picturesque expression, once said that what most Americans need is a blow on the head that will knock them squarely into the middle of the twentieth century. I think what he meant to drive home was that the old freedom of individual independence is gone; a new freedom is before us, a freedom that still has to be won by us, namely, freedom through interdependence. We cannot have freedom in such a world without organization. American labor has pioneered in the discovery that organization is necessary both to expand effective freedom and to defend it against irresponsible, oppressive power.

In so far as our American society is still open and flexible, with a chance for everybody to become somebody, in so far as it provides some measure of economic security plus the hope of improvement, in so far as it gives a man a job with a horizon beyond the job, American labor has helped our society to maintain its direction and kept it "on the beam" without undue loss of momentum.

In the third place, the labor movement, today, is carrying on what is probably the most significant social experiment with the

gravest problem, next to war, that faces Western civilization. And that is the problem of how to control gigantic economic power. Labor is exploring the possibilities of democratic control by collective bargaining under law.

From one point of view the whole ordeal of civilization has been how to win power and control it for human welfare. How can we today make power serve us as a tool and keep it from tyrannizing over us as a master? We know certain things about economic power that we must never forget. For one thing, economic power is genuine power. Those who hold it directly control their subordinates. Their decisions affect the lives and interests of millions of other men. For another thing, economic power is centripetal. It tends to concentrate. According to Berle and Means [3] two hundred corporations, nominally under the direction of two thousand individuals but actually under the direction of a few hundred men, controlled half of the industry of the United States a few years ago. If they continue to grow up to 1970 as they did up to 1929 these giant companies will absorb practically all industrial activity in the United States and will own ninety per cent of its corporate wealth. No one believes that would be a healthy state of affairs.

For another thing we know that power is not safe when it is highly concentrated. It is like arsenic—very useful in small doses but poisonous in large lumps. James Thurber may have had this in mind when he wrote, "Never trust a nervous woman with a gun, no matter what." "Power is poison," said Henry Adams. "Power always corrupts and absolute power absolutely corrupts," was the blanket assertion of Lord Acton. The plain fact is that power is unsafe, arbitrary, irresponsible, when concentrated, unchecked, unmatched, and uncontrolled from beyond itself. It did not prove safe in the hands of pious and cultured ecclesiastics when the Roma hierarchy was in the saddle. It has bee notoriously abused by every aristocracy monarchy, and oligarchy in history. Ther is no reason to expect that the vast moder concentrations of economic power will es cape the same temptations. Here Oswal Spengler may, for once, be right, and w can expect "the eternal recurrence of th similar."

The labor movement now seeks to cop with this power through the democrati process of collective bargaining. Thi principle is not new. It is the old principl of controlling power through the partic pation and by the consent of those who ar dependent upon that power for existence security, and welfare. But its recognitio and sanction under law and its implemen tation are new. It is really the extensio of democracy into industry.

Collective bargaining is, I believe, open ing a new and hopeful chapter in labo management relations. It is the America way. It is opposed to the totalitarian wa —the dictation of all policies and the regi mentation of all life by the almighty few It is opposed to the class-struggle theor that labor and capital have nothing in com mon and must be at war until the on liquidates the other. For it seeks to ex plore areas of agreement and co-operatio between labor and management. It seek a continuous interpenetration of purpose not a permanent collision of interests. An it is opposed to the doctrinaire ideology progress by violent revolution. Instea it pursues a pragmatic realism, aiming t advance the interests and welfare of th workers inch by inch through conferenc persuasion, the appeal to fair play an common sense, and by legitimate dem cratic pressure.

Finally, I should like to point out certai spiritual perils and potentialities in th labor movement of today. Some peop regard labor unions as the spawn of Satan others hail them as angels from heaven su rounded by the cherubim. Obviously the

[3] *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, 1934.

re neither. They are a collective human esponse to a gigantic human problem. hey represent one way which one large egment of the population has found of surviving the ordeal of an industrial civilization. I want to correct here any impression may have left that I regard them as angelic messiahs. In treating of their spiritual significance I have hitherto dwelt upon heir positive contributions. Perhaps I have only sent up some rhetorical flares to illumine our situation. If time permitted could bring up the heavy artillery of facts to support amply all my contentions. But I now want to point out some of the perils of this movement.

Let it be clearly said at the outset that American unionism is not imperiled by Communism. Those who make such charges do so in the teeth of the facts. The American Federation of Labor has a consistent record of either expelling or disciplining any Communist members. If the C. I. O. has any Communists in it, they do not control its high councils. It also has Presbyterians and Catholics in it, but that does not make it Calvinistic or Papist. It is well to remember, as James Myers points out, that in the mass-production industries it is the employer who does the hiring and therefore determines whether the unions have Communist members. As Clinton Golden says, "If the employer hires Communists as workers, we have them in the unions; if he hires Methodists, we have them." [4]

Nor is racketeering the peculiar vice of labor unions. For racketeering is a widely distributed human phenomenon that is found especially in American business, political, and civil life. It is the outgrowth among us of a long tradition of lawlessness which probably began with our pious forefathers who liberally violated their charters from the English crown whenever those royal grants interfered with the colonists' expansive desires. To this day racketeering is an illegitimate right which most Americans feel entitled to exercise whenever the law interferes with their private wishes and interests. Even though we are waging an all-out war, even though patriotism is one of our most disciplining sentiments, nevertheless two and one half million gallons of gasoline were being sold and purchased daily on the black market during April, 1944. Racketeering in labor is confined to a relatively few unions whose history and type of occupation lay them peculiarly open to this form of piracy.

No, the perils of labor unions lie in other directions. For one thing, they have been conflict groups fighting their way to recognition and to power. Will they carry this belligerent conflict pattern over into a period when more co-operative patterns are needed? Whether they move from conflict to conference and conciliation will depend partly upon their own leadership and resourcefulness; but it will depend equally upon whether management changes from hostility to compromise and conciliation. In order to move from the jungle to the conference table both sides must trim or sheathe their claws.

Again, labor unions are growing in power. They wield ever more formidable control over processes of industrial life that affect for good or ill the entire national community. Will they and their leadership fall before the temptation and be corrupted by such power? Or will they mature and exercise it responsibly? The American public no more wants the irresponsible tyranny of labor than it wants the oppressive dictatorship of an economic oligarchy. I, personally, see no immediate prospect or threat of such labor tyranny. But if history offers one sure warning it is that the ghost of Caesar is ever on the horizon—and that eternal vigilance is always the price of liberty.

Again, the labor movement has often been parochial in its outlook and interests. Like any mighty, youthful, and growing

[4] J. Myers, *Do You Know Labor?* p. 23.

movement it mistakes a part for the whole and tends to claim it is a universe in itself. It forgets at times that it is but a part of the economic universe. The farmer and the consumer are, along with the owner and manager, equally significant parts of that universe. And in the last analysis our common, mutual interests are more important for survival and well-being than are the parochial interests of any one group.

These perils are genuine. They must be met and overcome if the labor movement is to continue its creative evolution.

In conclusion we wish to indicate certain spiritual potentialities of this movement from the standpoint of the Christian Church. For one thing, the labor movement may help to correct the "apathetic fallacy" of mankind, as Arnold Toynbee calls it. The "pathetic fallacy" has been made familiar by William James and others. It is the fallacy of treating inanimate things as if they were alive, of regarding the stars as divinities, believing the woods are inhabited by nymphs and dryads, and swearing at lost golf balls and recalcitrant collar buttons. The "apathetic fallacy" is that of treating living creatures as though they were inanimate objects. The Church too has labored long to kill that fallacy. It should be grateful for any ally. Of how much more value, after all, is a man than a sheep, or a machine, or profits, or dividends?

Again, the labor movement by its realistic attack upon the problem of human welfare may help to cure the Church of what some regard as its incurable sentimentalism. The best definition of the essence of sentimentalism that I know is this: it is to discuss ends without any consideration of means. It is not only sentimentalism; it is immoral theology to emote continually about a "fuzzy far-off brotherhood" and to do nothing to create the conditions which permit and foster brotherhood. Someone has remarked that if he were drowning he would rather see on the bank a burglar who could swim than a bishop who could not. The labor movement invites the bishops to take swimming lessons.

Finally, the labor movement is a century-and-a-half-long signal to the Church that Christianity is entering a new political and economic age. It is a secular age and we cannot unsecularize it. But we may help to redeem it if we can permeate it with the leaven of the Christian Gospel and ethic. It is an age of the multiplication of material goods and values. It is not at all likely that their increase will be checked. This may materialize us all. But it need not. There is a Christian materialism which would multiply material goods in abundance for all and at the same time make them instrumental to the cultural, social, moral, and religious values of life. Christian materialism is instrumental materialism. It is an age of power. Power can be tamed only by power. It is the Christian faith that the old centers and new accessions of human power can be tamed and the sins of power can be fundamentally redeemed only by the Gospel of Christianity, which is the power of God unto salvation.

In one of Ibsen's plays, *Brand*, there is a striking portrayal of a fanatical Norwegian preacher who is obsessed by the glamour of one idea, namely, to build "a church big enough for God." That, however, is not a fanatical idea. Christian people who know what they are about know that that is the only kind of Church worth building. And Christian people who know what they are about, are also trying to build a civilization in which the Spirit of God, as manifest in Christ, will be sovereign in human hearts. That, after all, is the only kind of social habitation worth building. And that is a task to which all Christian men and women, in all walks of life, whether in shop, factory, or office, in the city or on the farm, in business or politics, in the family or in the Church are called in this age of new and fluid opportunity.

The Workshop

Students Look at Chicago. The Social Education and Action Committee of the Student Council Committee at McCormick Theological Seminary carried on, during the last academic year, a vigorous program to acquaint students and faculty members with labor, race, and economic problems that ought to concern organized religion.

High on the list of projects, from the viewpoint of attendance and interest, was the First Annual All-Seminary Field Trip. Classes were dismissed, and 35 students and faculty members took part. The members of the trip divided into four sections, one to visit Brethren Hostel for Japanese Americans; one, Abraham Lincoln Center; and the third, Ida B. Wells Housing Project.

The fourth section met with Nicholas M. DiPietro, Executive Secretary, Chicago Printing Trades Unions, who opened for them the world of labor management relations. First, he showed the group the headquarters of his union, one of the oldest and strongest in the country, which provides mutual insurance, sanatoriums, and hospitals for its members. Then Mr. DiPietro conducted the group to a hearing of the War Labor Board, which was at the time considering the case of Donnelley's Lakeside Press charged with violations of good labor policy.

Other activities of the Social Action Committee have been: (1) Bringing three speakers on race to the campus and fitting the meetings into the regular seminary program, so that the entire student body and faculty members and their families could attend; (2) putting on a display of pamphlets; (3) adding appropriate newspapers to the reading room, including the *Pittsburgh Courier*, important Negro newspaper, and *PM*; (4) taking a trip to Hull-House; (5) issuing a mimeographed bulletin called *Social Action*, describing bills before Congress and giving information on the voting activities of Congressmen. Among the issues brought to the attention of the seminary have been the poll tax, FEPC, and the soldier vote.

On April 17 the S.E.A.C. of the seminary joined with the S.E.A.C. of the Chicago Presbytery in sponsoring a Church-Labor Conference. Alfred Hoffmann, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, C.I.O., was the principal speaker. Mr. Hoffmann was a member of the Committee on Church and Industrial Relations advisory to the Department of Social Education and Action, whose report was presented to and approved by the General Assembly in May, 1944. *Reported in* Labor News *of the Religion and Labor Foundation.*

Evacuee Relocation. According to the War Relocation Authority's report of May 29, virtually all of the 22,000 Japanese-Americans who had left relocation centers had been well received in communities where they have resumed their normal places in society. More characteristic than such uprisings as those in Great Meadows, New Jersey, are the following instances of successful resettlement:

Bill Okazaki and his family moved from the Rohwer relocation center in Arkansas to a farm near McHenry, Illinois. They have been accepted by adults in the community. Their daughters are in school.

Fred Doli operated a 60-acre vineyard at Fowler, California, before the war. From the relocation center he went to Elkhorn, Nebraska, to work on a poultry and dairy farm. Neighboring farmers were so favorably impressed with Doli's abilities that three of them are negotiating for evacuee farm workers.

One of the biggest vegetable-growing enterprises in Utah is Pacific Farms, with 480 acres of carrots, peas, potatoes, and onions, operated by Henry Mitarai. He employed 25 fellow evacuees during the growing season and expects to have an additional 125 at harvest time.

Four transcontinental railroads have employed evacuees of Japanese ancestry as section workers during the last two years, and thousands worked in the beet fields during the 1942 and 1943 seasons, harvesting enough sugar for about 10,000,000 persons each season. *Reported in* The Christian Science Monitor, *May, 1944.*

Pendleton's Community Council. Pendleton, Oregon (population 8,847), has the usual problems, plus those piled on by the war. Its postwar period has begun, in a sense, with the return of the first veterans of World War II and the closing of a large military airport.

Jobs. Pendleton's biggest economic problem is jobs—jobs now and jobs after the war. Pendleton needs to know: First, what jobs existing industry can provide today and can reasonably expect to provide tomorrow; second, what additional private enterprise is feasible, where the capital will come from, where and how it will be invested, where it can find markets.

Planned Public Works. If at any time private enterprise cannot furnish all the needed jobs, planned public works will have to take up the slack. But these must be work which the town itself needs to have done. Pendleton does not want "made work."

Uppermost in each citizen's mind is flood control. Playgrounds, parks, and recreation facilities come next, and sanitary disposal, grade and highway separation, a memorial building, and improvement of the municipal swimming pool follow.

Pendleton Must Be Educated. Pendleton wants everyone in town to go to work on its problem. So every adult, every young person, and every child must understand the tasks, the opportunities, and the dangers that confront the world and the nation in this new epoch—and understand the part that Pendleton and all the other Pendletons will play in shaping their outcome. The community forum draws two or three hundred people, but it must reach several times this number. There are still some people in Pendleton who have to be educated to understand *why they have to be educated.*

Tackling the Job. Pendleton's Community Council has 19 members appointed by the mayor in consultation with representatives of every section of the organized life of the community. Members of the City Council have been appointed to the Community Council, so that government and private enterprise are both represented. Business is adequately represented; but so are religious, educational, young people's, labor, and other interests.

Subcommittees are already working on a survey of jobs, and giving serious attention to the methods by which the community program, when it is shaped up and agreed upon, can be carried into every organization and every block. With a dozen or more people on each subcommittee, a lot of minds are beginning to function.

People Will Talk. Once a community begins to pull itself together in this fashion and get some planning into its activities the talk gets into the conversations of the people at the dinner table and on Main Street. The thing works like yeast. The town is beginning to realize that Pendleton must gear its Community Council in with the County Council, that citizens must deepen their understanding of what Oregon, the United States, and the United Nations must do; and that Pendleton must organize its democratic strength so that it can throw its full weight toward their solution.

Is your town getting under way? *Reported by the Council for Democracy.*

Study and Action

ew Social Education and Action Publications

Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, as adopted the General Assembly, 1944. For study and discussion in synod and presbytery and session and other lay groups in the Churches. *Free.*

he Church and Industrial Relations. Special report of a study of the problems Organized Labor and Management made by the Department of Social Education id Action in collaboration with a special advisory committee representing labor, anagement, and the public, approved, and its recommendations adopted by the eneral Assembly, 1944. For study and discussion in synod, presbytery, and local hurch groups, and in labor, management, consumer, and other community groups. his is a document unique in scope and content and also among the activities of the hurch in the field of social concern and action. Available: *For study groups,* from y Presbyterian Book Store, up to 25 copies, *free;* 25-100 copies, *7 cents each. For ider distribution:* quantity rates on request to Department of Social Education and ction, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Christians in Political Action: A Handbook for Citizens. Special issue of OCIAL PROGRESS. For use throughout the Church during this election year and in anning the postelection political activities of Christian citizens. *10 cents each.*

Nations United for Peace (Revised). A packet containing: study guide "Six llars of Peace," discussion outline, and pamphlet and other source and worship aterials. For discussion use in the Churches. *35 cents.*

How to Prevent a Race Riot—In Your Home Town. A six-point program for mmunity action with special reference to the responsibility and activity of the hurches in the field of race relations. *10 cents.*

Community Action for Children and Youth in Wartime. A report on youth d child delinquency and its war-aggravated causes; a clear outline of recreational d other opportunities lacking in many communities; and a stimulating and sug- stive outline of concrete steps in a community program of child, youth, and civic elfare. A list of "Pamphlets to Order" and "Agencies to Call On" is appended. *cents.*

Today and Tomorrow Leaflets. A new series designed for Soldiers and Civilians:

No. 1. *The Church in the Peacemaking.*
No. 2. *War's Impact on Labor.*
No. 3. *Five Essentials of Brotherhood.*
No. 4. *When You Come Home.*
No. 5. *Jobs—After the War?*

The purpose is to help the men and women in the armed services, in war industries, civilian pursuits, to face and think through together, some of the problems caused intensified by the war. Many of these demand immediate action; others will come the fighting stops. In either case, Army and Navy men, industrial workers, and ilians must act together. For enclosure in letters or distribution in Church and ner groups. *25 copies, free; $1.00 a hundred.*

* Order these materials from any Presbyterian Book Store.

About Books

Nippon: The Crime and Punishment of Japan, by Willis Lamott. John Day. $2.50.

The "crime" of Japan, about which Dr. Willis Lamott writes, is not by the Japanese people but against them by their own leaders. He came to know these people well through his twenty years as a missionary-teacher among them. He found in them their share of individual and national weakness and strength. Particularly since the turn of the century they were proving growingly responsive to Western science, liberalism, and idealism.

In this accelerated tendency those leaders whose strength was rooted in the national tradition and the inherited political structure saw a dangerous deviation from the past and an inhibiting snare to their grandiose policy for an aggressive imperialism. So these leaders, drawing upon a faith that is compounded of gross superstition and a fanatical national conceit, and using the hunger and zeal for education of contemporary Japan, hog-tied the mind of the Japanese people fast to the tenets of Traditionalism, Militarism, and Expansionism. Such is the crime perpetrated with skill and decisiveness in the thirties which culminated on December 7, 1941.

The author is illuminating in his elaboration of the ideology that has been recently current, based upon the history and tradition of the past. He holds that the ideology with which the Japanese people were indoctrinated during the "Decisive Decade" (1931-1941) epitomized the history of Japanese thought. He has much to say on the educational system through which this indoctrination takes place. He is emphatic that under the spell of this ideology the Japanese people are unfit to take their place in the modern society of nations.

The punishment of Japan will, of necessity, fall upon the people as a whole, but Dr. Lamott makes clear that it must fall especially upon their leaders, even upon the emperor himself. For only in utter and complete defeat, bringing about the humiliation and repudiation of these leaders, will there lie any hope for the re-education of the Japanese people.

The author has been not only a firsthand observer of Japanese life but a keen student of its past. He writes, in part at least, with a purpose to deflate some of the Western liberalism in its attitude toward Japan. While he does not minimize the difficulty he feels strongly that there is a basis for hope for the reconstruction of Japan, but with the proviso that if and when this spiritual and intellectual reconstruction is allowed to begin it is in the pattern of the liberal and constructive thought of the people themselves. C.P.H.

Ten Years in Japan, by Joseph Clark Grew. Simon and Schuster. $3.75.

Former Ambassador Joseph Clark Grew wrote his previous book, *Report from Tokyo,* to acquaint the people of the United States with the formidable character of the Japanese military machine. It had the effect of awakening us from our almost fatal underestimation of our Far Eastern enemy. This present book, *Ten Years in Japan,* was written to provide a "more accurately focused view of Japan than is now widely held." Into this focus is brought the fact that "there are many Japanese today who did not want war . . . and who did everything in their power to restrain the military extremists." It is to be hoped that this purpose also will be realized. We can never face the end of the conflict and the ensuing peace table until we rid ourselves

f the distorted half-human caricature alled a Japanese, which has become the capegoat for our war in the Far East.

Anyone who has lived in Japan will gree with Mr. Grew that "there are no ner people in the world than the best ype of Japanese," but the revelation of his fact will not assist in the solution of he major problem of our future relations vith Japan. Why were these "fine peo-le" so impotent? Why did they fall efore the onslaught of the military fa-atics? What is necessary in the future eorganization of Japan to make impos-ible a similar capitulation of good peo-le? Unfortunately, there is no answer n this book to questions such as these.

Ten Years in Japan is a study in concili-tion. It is composed of selections from Mr. Grew's diary and other papers, tied ogether by editorial captions but other-vise unrevised. It is in a sense the former Ambassador's apologia for the failure of is mission. When he went to Japan in 932 the stage was already set and the urtain call had been given for war. As arly as June of that year he recorded his pinion that the Military was running the Government. He soon came to realize lso that the moderation of Japanese lib-ral statesmen was one of "manner and trategy rather than substance." Facing he possibility and even the probability f war, Mr. Grew nevertheless worked for eace. "An ambassador [he writes] who n taking a foreign post throws up his ands and says, 'War is inevitable,' might ust as well pack up and come home." Therefore, it was not until the summer of 940 that he sent his "green light" tele-ram to Washington. He believed that oercive measures should be avoided "as ong as there was any possibility of setting he pendulum swinging toward the democ-acies." To relinquish the method of con-iliation so long as there was such hope eemed to him to spell defeatism.

A long book, closely written, unenliv-ned by sensational or racy anecdotes, *Ten Years in Japan* will prove to be heavy go-ing for many. To the student of our times, however, it is required reading.

WILLIS CHURCH LAMOTT

The American, by James Truslow Ad-ams. Scribners. $3.00.

What makes an American the kind of man he is? What out of his heritage molds his mind and heart? The author of *Henry Adams, The Epic of America,* and *The Founding of New England* sets his hand to answering these questions in a stimulating book of American history from the Pilgrims to modern times.

Many books have been written about American institutions, government, and battles: this is a book about the plain American citizen—what inspired ingre-dients have gone into him to make him different from the other peoples of the earth. This book is not American history in dull facts or timeworn maxims, but American history in significant flashes. The author's theme could be expressed in these words: America was founded as a world frontier; it developed as a nation of successive frontiers; and, though with the opening of this century, the frontier age was officially declared closed, the habits, reactions, mores, judgments of frontier life still characterize us as a peo-ple.

S. EDWARD YOUNG

U. S. War Aims, by Walter Lippmann. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $1.50.

Mr. Lippmann's widely read book of a year ago, *U. S. Foreign Policy,* deservedly was heralded as one of the most significant statements of our American position that the war has produced. However, it was incomplete. While it advocated an in-ternational organization to be adopted af-ter the war, it said nothing of the nature of such an organization.

This was not an oversight on Mr. Lipp-mann's part. As he tells us in the preface to this new volume, he could not go into

details "because the outcome of the war was still too uncertain." However, now he believes the time has come to state our *positive* war aims, not merely the *negative* aims of overturning Germany and Japan.

Briefly stated, these aims, as Mr. Lippmann sees them, are six in number: (1) Consolidation of the strategic and diplomatic connections now existing in the "Atlantic Community"; (2) Recognition of the strategic system of the "Russian Orbit"; (3) Recognition of China as the center of a third strategic system destined to include the whole mainland of Eastern Asia; (4) Recognition that the Moslem and Hindu nations of North Africa, the Middle East, and Southern Asia will form regional systems of their own; (5) Establishment of a settlement in the Far East, so that Japan will not hold the balance of power, and in the Atlantic Community, so that Germany will not hold it; (6) Recognition of the fact that any lasting settlement of a war of aggression is to extinguish the war party and to protect the peace party.

After defining these war aims, Mr. Lippmann then proceeds to describe the conditions under which permanent peace can be maintained.

This is a brilliant, hard-hitting analysis which will challenge all of us to recognize and fulfill our national destiny.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Strange Fruit, by Lillian Smith. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.75.

This novel is a searing portrait of caste and class in a Georgia turpentine-and-cotton town with its tragedy of waste in human souls. Written by a woman descended from a colonial family who, except for three years' teaching in a mission school in China, has lived all her life in the deep South, *Strange Fruit* becomes required reading for every Christian who wants a morally fervid but balanced understanding of the Negro problem.

Here are all the threads of segregation and discrimination—caste, exploitatio coercion, subservience, ignorance, povert effects of education, disease, religion, law lessness, emotional writhings and rationa izations—woven with rare sincerity ar skill into the gross fabric of racism th hangs like a shroud over Southern lif black and white.

The plot revolves around personal ar community reactions to the unsanction love of a frustrated white boy, Tracy Dee for the lovely mulatto, Nonnie, of t educated Anderson family which repr sents the emergent Negro inwardly protes ing but outwardly nigh powerless redress the wrongs done him. Again Nonnie's acceptance her sister Bess seethe brother Ed shoots, and friend Sam Perr colored M.D., walks a heroic middl ground until dumb, innocent Henry turned into a human bonfire by a sadisti lynching mob. Caught in the same ske of events and passions are fumbling D Deen, compassionate Tom Harris, and t white ladies who are the chief devotees a hot-tent-style evangelist.

The narrative is developed at the cum lative pace of a Greek tragedy, mark with realism that does not spare ugly s scenes and words true of the behavior the characters involved. As miscegenati is integral to the mores on review, it worth saying here that most experts, li Gunnar Myrdal and Charles S. Johnso believe that 70 per cent of all Negro have some white blood in their vei Against such a background of colored sentment, white aggression and guilt fe ings, rubbed raw by the scramble for t almighty penny in a sinking economy, ra puts a blight on everything normal a decent until human relations are degrad and souls destroyed.

Maxwell, Georgia, is a community s fering from paranoia—"circle madnes W. H. Auden has called it—wherein o is ringed by enemies that must be kept bay. Even when the educated Southern knows how thoroughly science has

loded the old myths of racial traits and uperiority he dares not let a break occur nywhere lest the whole chain of relation-hips fall apart.

The Negro too is trapped by the system. lis consuming disease is schizophrenia—iis personality split in two—the one half ngratiating Uncle Tom before the white olks, and the other half trying to gain self-iood in his own eyes. The brooding sor-ow, pain, and struggle of these brown hildren of God will cause the reader to earch his own conscience—as the inept white religion of the deep South has not o date, regarding America's major dilemma.

RALPH NORMAN MOULD

What to Read About Labor

Books

Do You Know Labor? by James Myers. The John Day Company. $2.00.

The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy, by Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Rutenberg. Harper & Brothers. $3.00.

Right and Wrong in Labor Relations, by William M. Leiserson. University of California Press, Berkeley, California. 1.00.

Labor on the March, by Edward S. Levinson. Harper & Brothers. $3.00.

Union Rights and Union Duties, by Joel Seidman. Harcourt, Brace and Co. $2.50.

Union Policies and Industrial Management, by Sumner H. Slichter. Brookings nstitution, Washington, D. C. $3.50.

Labor Relations and the War. The nnals. The American Academy of olitical and Social Science, 3457 Walnut treet, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. 2.00.

Pamphlets

The Church and Industrial Relations. eport of the Department of Social Education and Action as Approved by the General Assembly. 25 copies or less, free; 25 to 100 copies, 7 cents each.

Organized Labor and the Church, by Alfred Hoffmann. Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. 15 cents.

Democracy in Trade Unions: A Survey with a Program of Action. American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York. 10 cents.

What Your Labor Union Means, by Alfred Baker Lewis. American Labor Education Service, New York, New York. 15 cents.

Workers and Bosses are Human: Collective Bargaining at Work. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York. 10 cents.

Working and Fighting Together. Congress of Industrial Organizations, Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, 718 Jackson Place, Washington N. W. 6, D. C. 5 cents.

Why Race Riots? Lessons from Detroit. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York. 10 cents.

Employment After the War. American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C. Free.

As We Win. Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place, Washington, N. W. 6, D. C. 5 cents.

Labor's Aims in War and Peace, by Amy Hewes. Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. 10 cents.

War and Post-War Adjustment Policies. Report of Bernard M. Baruch and M. Hancock. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20 cents.

The I.L.O.—What It Is, What It Does, How It Works and *The United States in the International Labor Organization,* by Ethel M. Johnson. International Labor Office, Washington, D. C. Free.

* Order all books and starred pamphlets om any Presbyterian Book Store. Order all her pamphlets from publishers as indicated.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 194 requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Educat and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the Natio Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but the best available comment on current films.

Since You Went Away—with Claudette Colbert, Jennifer Jones, Joseph Cotten, Shirl Temple, Lionel Barrymore. (United Artists.) A study of the home front during t war, depicting a year of the common wartime experiences of a captain's wife and t young daughters. Their problems are shown against a background of all sorts Americans doing all sorts of things. The picture has been made on a grand scale. The are many and excellent sets and a huge cast of uniform competence. Outstanding dire tion which displays a fine sense of dramatic and emotional values makes all this mo with the utmost smoothness and brings out the emotion natural in a situation that dea with loneliness, renunciation, tragic young love, as well as courage and hope. **Family.**

An American Romance—with Brian Donlevy, Ann Richards, Walter Abel. (Metr Goldwyn-Mayer.) An ambitious and, for the most part, quite successful story of immigrant and his rise from day laborer in the Minnesota ore range to a leader in t industrial life of America. The story of his progress is in many respects the story the development of this country. The film, in technicolor, pictures the growth of t steel, automobile, and aviation industries, with many extraordinary production sho The film is overlong and attempts to cover too many aspects of America's vast industri achievements. But the excellent acting, the romance, and the sincerity and high purpo of the story combine to make it a film well worth seeing. **Family.**

Dragon Seed—with Katharine Hepburn, Walter Huston, Aline MacMahon. (Metr Goldwyn-Mayer.) With Pearl S. Buck's novel as its basis, "Dragon Seed" is a sincere a powerful portrayal of the fight of China's people against Japanese enslavement. It is t first Hollywood treatment of China wholly in terms of the Chinese. At first it is difficu to adjust one's mind to the strangeness of familiar Hollywood players in the roles Chinese characters and their literal Chinese costumes and dialogue. The interest the story, however, soon overcomes this difficulty. The direction of the film is notabl the spirit and color of the original novel are preserved, and the drama and characteriz tions of the original story are intensified. "Dragon Seed" is one of the most successf efforts to develop, through the film, an understanding of an Ally, a fair appraisal of problems, and respect for its people. **Adult—Family.**

Attack! The Battle for New Britain. Photographed by the United States Arm Signal Corps. (RKO Radio.) This important historical chronicle, made and released the War Department, is the record of the American attack on the Japanese-held island New Britain. Beginning with the checking of men and supplies, rehearsals, and maneuve in the staging areas, the film moves with the convoy to the establishing of a beachhe at Arawe, then to the assault on Cape Gloucester. Landings and combat are shown gripping detail. Only the combination of outstanding photography, commentary, a editing could have made clear so comprehensive an account. It brings close wh American men are facing in jungle warfare and how they are facing it. **Family.**

The Great Moment—with Joel McCrea, Betty Field. (Paramount.) The story of t discovery of anesthesia is unfolded in this biographical portrayal of Dr. W. T. G. Mort who, as a struggling young dentist in the 1840's, applied the desensitizing properties sulphuric ether and launched himself into a successful practice through its use in den surgery. His secret, given to the world to relieve human suffering, revolutionized medici but brought him, instead of reward or recognition, only the disgrace of being branded a charlatan. This picture abounds in humor and delightfully human incidents in t life of a man whose efforts to relieve suffering were so little appreciated. The dialog is modern, but the settings of the 1840's are amusingly authentic. **Family.**

Gaslight—with Ingrid Bergman and Charles Boyer. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) Myst surrounds the murder of a famous concert singer at 9 Thornton Square, London. T years later, her niece returns with her husband, a French pianist whom she has marr in Italy, to occupy the house. Haunted by strange sounds from the attic, the dimming the gaslights, and the fear of losing her reason, the young wife struggles to extric herself from the spell; but not until Scotland Yard becomes interested is the myst dramatically solved. From the mood-setting introduction to the final scene, this is absorbing, suspense-filled, psychological drama, its quality of apprehension sustained faultless photography and artfully appropriate music. The film is notable also for f direction and the exceptional performance of a brilliant cast. **Mature.**

Index

Vol. XXXIV September, 1943, to June, 1944

PAGE

griculture (See Labor, Management, and Agriculture)

ook Reviews (See appropriate subject heading)

hristian Concern

Christmas, 1943, Newton.....Dec. 1
Church Isolationism Is Out! McAfee .....Feb. 1
Easter Faces Forward, Muilenburg .....Apr. 1
Films for the Church Program, Hockman .....Oct. 20
Principles of Christian Ethics, Knudson .....Jan. 31
Protestantism: Genius and Strategy, Brown .....Oct. 5
Realism of Christian Faith, Coffin .....Sept. 1
War Against God, Carmer....Jan. 31
We Cannot Escape History, Lowe .....Jan. 1
Westminster Assembly and the Social Gospel, Nichols.....Oct. 1
What Is a Mature Morality? Titus .....Mar. 30
World You Want—Or Do You? Fritchman .....Mar. 1

Book Reviews

Amen, Amen, Constantino, Jr..Apr. 31
A Portrait of Jesus, Eddy.....Mar. 31
Apostle, Asch .....Mar. 31
Beginning of Christianity, Craig .....Mar. 31
Christian Behavior, Lewis.....Mar. 31
Church in Disrepute, Bell....Feb. 37
New Order in the Church, Brown .....Nov. 30
Rebuilding Our World, Sperry.Mar. 31
Return to Christianity, Ferre..Mar. 30

PAGE

What Is Religion Doing to Our Consciences? Coe .....Oct. 28

Community—Civic and Child Welfare

Community Initiative (Ed)...Dec. 16
Could Your Community Change? Harner .....Sept. 12
Delinquent Communities, Thrasher .....Apr. 10
Problems of Demobilization, A Symposium .....June 6
Summer Work Camp, Tanton..Feb. 18
War a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency, Nutt .....Nov. 18

Book Reviews

Working with Rural Youth, Brunner .....Sept. 29
Youth and the Future.....Sept. 29

Government and Politics

Christians in Political Action—entire issue ..... May
Election Year (Ed) .....Feb. 21
Will American Opinion Support World Organization? (Ed).Nov. 16

Book Reviews

Big Bosses, Van Devander....May 38
I Write from Washington, Childs .....May 38
Origins of the American Revolution, Miller .....Oct. 28
Under Cover, Carlson.....Jan. 30
Washington Is Like That, Kiplinger .....May 38
You and Your Congress, Torrey .....May 38

Economics

Are Freedom and Security Compatible? Johnson .....Feb. 12

PAGE

Congressional Mill, Landis...Apr. 13
Economic Union or Economic Empire? Mallery .....Mar. 12
"For I Was Hungry," Ruland Mar. 18
One Hundred Years of Co-operation, Carpenter .....Jan. 13
Program for Plenty, Benjamin. Nov. 13
Secure Full Employment—A Report .....Apr. 19

Book Reviews

Economic Union and Durable Peace, Mallery .....Sept. 29
Goals for America: A Budget of Our Needs and Resources, Chase .....Oct. 31
New Philosophy of Public Debt, Moulton .....Oct. 31
Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time, Laski.....Jan. 29
Where's the Money Coming From? Chase .....May 38

General

Book Reviews

A Bell for Adano, Hershey....Apr. 30
Church and Psychotherapy, Stolz .....Mar. 30
Clue to Pascal, Cailliet.....Mar. 31
Federalist, Hamilton, Jay, Madison .....May 38
George Washington Carver: An American Biography, Holt..Sept. 30
God Is My Co-Pilot, Scott, Jr..Oct. 28
Human Comedy, Saroyan ....Sept. 32
Journey in the Dark, Flavin...Mar. 31
My Native Land, Adamic....Jan. 30
None But the Lonely Heart, Llewellyn .....Feb. 37
Survival of Western Culture, Flewelling .....Dec. 28
Valley of Decision, Davenport. Sept. 31

International Relations and Postwar Problems

An Interfaith Declaration on World Peace .....Nov. 7
A Plea for Tolerance, Grew..Feb. 4

PAGE

Child Needs Confront the Church, Smiley .....Mar. 2
Christian Mission on World Order, Van Kirk .....Sept. 2
Church and World Order, Sisco .....Nov.
Church Enlistment for World Order, A Symposium.....Jan. 2
Church in the Peacemaking, Heath .....Oct.
Church Women Enlist for World Order, Purvis.....Nov. 2
C.P.S.—Review and Forecast, Mould .....June 3
Emerging Outlines of Postwar Organization, Dean .....Nov.
Germany and the Future in Europe, Chichester .....Dec.
Human Welfare—First Postwar Concern, Dean .....Jan. 2
International Round Table on World Order, Hall.....Sept. 1
Letter to a Boy, Elliott.....Dec.
Moscow and Cairo: An Appraisal .....Mar.
Public Opinion and Our Foreign Policy, Dean.....May 2
Russia and the Western Democracies, *Information Service* .Jan.
Russia's Conflict with the Vatican, Dean .....Apr.
Six Major Problems Confront the Church, Lindeman .....Oct. 1
Teen Trouble, Young .....Apr. 2
UNRRA Sets Pattern of Collaboration, Dean .....Feb.
World Order Sunday in the Churches, Sweet .....Oct. 2
Young People and World Order, Beckes .....Dec. 2

Book Reviews

Asia Unbound, Greenbie.....Jan. 3
A Time for Greatness, Agar...Oct. 3
A Time to Act, MacLeish....Dec. 3
Burma Surgeon, Seagrave....Apr. 3
Christian Bases of World Order, Merrick-McDowell Lectures. Oct. 3

PAGE

Christianity and Social Order, Temple ..... Oct. 31
Conditions of Peace, Carr.... Oct. 31
From Victory to Peace, Hutchinson ..... Feb. 36
Legacy of Nazism, Munk..... Nov. 29
Lend-Lease—Weapon for Victory, Stettinius, Jr..... May 38
One World, Willkie..... Oct. 31
Outlines of the Future: World Organization Emerging from the War, Bonnet..... Oct. 29
Peace Plans and American Choices, Millspaugh ..... Nov. 30
Peace We Fight For, Motherwell ..... Oct. 31
Postwar Plans of the United Nations, Lorwin ..... Apr. 29
Preview of History, Swing... Dec. 28
Problems of Lasting Peace, Hoover and Gibson ..... Oct. 31
Promise, Buck ..... Apr. 30
Religion and the World of Tomorrow, Van Kirk ..... May 39
Russian Enigma, Chamberlin. June 38
Time of Peace, Williams..... Sept. 31
U. S. Foreign Policy, Lippmann ..... Oct. 30
War's End and After, Chevalier ..... June 38

Labor, Management, and Agriculture

Democracy in Labor Settlements, Speers ..... Oct. 18
Industry's Spiritual Responsibility, Wilson ..... May 26
Labor and the Church (Ed).. Mar. 17
Labor and the Postwar World, Childs ..... Mar. 21
Labor Sunday Message, 1943.. Sept. 20
Rural Dependency (Ed) ..... Dec. 17
Wanted: Labor Pioneers, Eby ..... Sept. 6
War's Impact on Labor, Dunlop ..... Sept. 9
We Need Men of Reason, Kibler ..... Sept. 4

PAGE

What Will the Church Say About Labor? Hall..... Apr. 7

Book Reviews

Dynamics of Industrial Democracy, Golden and Ruttenberg. May 39
Farm Bloc, McCune..... May 38
Farm, Bromfield ..... Nov. 30
Labor Relations and the War: The Annals ..... May 39
Redirecting Farm Policy, Schultz ..... May 39
Right and Wrong in Labor Relations, Leiserson ..... May 39
Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939, Sturmthal..... Nov. 29
Union Policies and Industrial Management, Schlichter .... May 39
Union Rights and Union Duties, Sideman ..... May 39

Liquor and Gambling

America's Liquor Bill—1943, Rodgers ..... Jan. 10
Liquor—A Social Appraisal, La Roe, Jr. ..... Oct. 6
To Bet or Not to Bet? Hall... June 17

Book Reviews

Wrecking of the Eighteenth Amendment, Gordon ..... Dec. 30

Method and Program in Social Action

Christian Enlistment for World Order—1943-1944 ..... Sept. 16
Forecast—Christian Social Action—1944-1945 ..... Apr. 16
Heifers for Europe ..... Apr. 26
Impelling Implications, Gebhard ..... June 22
One Synod Did This..... Dec. 26
Program Emphases—1944-1945 ..... June 37
Story of "The Sub," Allston.. Mar. 28
Summer Work Camp—A Letter ..... Feb. 18
Synod C.P.S. Project..... June 36

PAGE

Unofficial Action Groups in the Church, Johnson.....Dec. 6
Waking Up Church Sessions, La Roe, Jr. .....June 14
Young People in Social Action.Oct. 26

Book Reviews

Group Experience—The Democratic Way, Baxter and Cassidy .....Apr. 29
New Schools for a New Culture, MacConnell, Melby, Arndt .Apr. 29
Society Kit (Volume I), Westminster Press .....Sept. 30

Racial and Cultural Relations

A Negro Soldier Said—A Poem, Overstreet .....Feb. 15
"Can These Bones Live?" Molbon .....Nov. 10
Common Good, Baldwin .....Nov. 12
Five Essentials of Brotherhood, Rasmussen .....Feb. 9
How to Prevent a Race Riot..Feb. 32
"Repent Ye" (Ed) .....Feb. 22
They Fight for Freedom, A Symposium .....Feb. 23
"Who Is My Neighbor?" (Ed) .....Mar. 16
Wooster Tackles Its Race Problem, Bathgate .....June 26

Book Reviews

Brothers Under the Skin, McWilliams .....Oct. 30
Get Together Americans, Davis-DuBois .....Feb. 36

PAGE

How to Prevent a Race Riot, Raushenbush .....Feb. 33
New World A-Coming, Ottley.Nov. 31
Race Question and the Negro, La Farge .....Feb. 35
Race Riot, Lee .....Feb. 35
Rising Above Color, Lotz....Feb. 36
To Stem This Tide, Johnson..Dec. 30
What Caused the Detroit Riot, White and Marshall.....Feb. 35

Worship, Poetry, and Drama

A Service of Worship and Commitment to Christian Citizenship .....May 34
Brotherhood Month — 1944, Young .....Feb. 28
Christian World Order Sunday, 1943 .....Nov. 22
Easter—1944 .....Apr. 24
Judas Iscariot, Mack .....Mar. 8
Lent—1944 .....Mar. 26
New Year, 1944 .....Jan. 26
Prayers for World Order ....June 34
Religion and Labor—Together.Sept. 22
Son of the Unknown Soldier, Searle .....Jan. 8
Temperance Sunday, 1943 ....Oct. 22
They Shall Be Free, Griffiths..Dec. 12
Year's End .....Dec. 22

Book Reviews

Burma Dairy, Geren.....Dec. 29
Every Day a Prayer, Bro.....Feb. 37
Five Minutes a Day with the Bible, the Poets, the Saints, Speer .....Dec. 29
Glory of God, Harkness.....Feb. 37
Prayers of the Spirit, Suter...Apr. 31